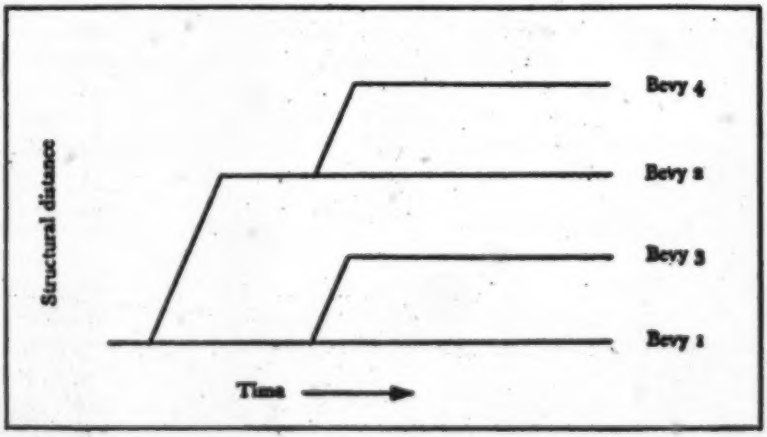
1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

cattle did not give rise to any cleavage of interest which was not already present in the residential system.

The system could also be manipulated by disputes about succession. If a man had many bevies of wives there was usually no doubt concerning which was the senior bevy and who was the great wife in it. Yet in general it was not possible to rank a man's bevies in a simple linear order of seniority, any more than the segments

DIAGRAM 3. RANKING OF BEVIES



to which they corresponded could be ordered in this way. In topological terms, ranking of bevies and of segments among the Ngoni was only partially, not simply, ordered. An example, illustrated in Diagram 3, will make this clear.

Suppose a man started with bevy 1 and then took part of it to form bevy 2. Later he took another part of bevy 1 to form bevy 3 and took part of bevy 2 to form bevy 4. With four bevies of wives, his senior bevy was bevy 1 and his great wife was the leader of bevy 1. Her eldest son was his principal heir, and if she had no sons the eldest son by the next wife in her bevy became heir. But suppose there was no son by any wife in bevy 1. Which band provided the principal heir? It seems clear that bevy 4 did not, at least not if there were sons in bevy 2, for bevy 2 was senior to bevy 4. Bevy 2 might be regarded as senior to bevy 3, for it was formed from bevy 1 earlier. On the other hand, with reference to bevy 2, bevy 3 was merely a part of bevy 1 and hence the search for heirs should be continued in bevy 3 before shifting to bevy 2. Unfortunately I

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

recognition of the Paramount's supremacy were therefore the main traditional forces uniting the mixed populations in the kingdoms.

Ngoni society

Although all people living in the Ngoni kingdoms were subjects of the Paramount, only those who could trace their descent from families who crossed the Zambezi River were recognized as 'true Ngoni'. Four main characteristics marked off this true Ngoni group from the rest. The first was their clan name, giving them an authentic origin south of the Zambezi. The second was a marriage contract sealed by handing over cattle, which established the offspring as 'children of their fathers', for, as they said, 'where the children are, the cattle are not'. The third was patrilineal descent and inheritance through the male line, and patrilocal residence at marriage, so that the wife came as a 'stranger' to her husband's people and village. The fourth was membership of a 'house', the social group of male members of Ngoni families with their wives and children round a leading woman. Everyone was born into a 'house' and the men remained in it for life, the women until their marriage. For special reasons children could be adopted into another house than the one into which they were born.

In a few of the smaller villages of North Nyasaland, consisting of ten to fifteen huts, all the men were true Ngoni, descendants of one or more former warriors in the same regiment, who had chosen to set up their own villages after the British had taken over the country. In such villages the cultural pattern of Ngoni life could be seen clearly, but they were not typical of the Ngoni kingdoms. There was always a mixture of peoples in the larger villages, dominated by a group of true Ngoni families.

This group of true Ngoni families were the social and cultural aristocracy of these villages. They considered themselves superior to and distinct from the other ethnic elements

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Succession to office within this system was from a man to his eldest son by his great wife. A man inherited from his father not only his father's dependents but also his father's political superiors. The segments of the system, although some of them had special names, could all be referred to by the name of the person in charge of each segment. The heir succeeded to the name of his father and to responsibility for the segment named after his father. New people came into the system in two ways: by birth and by capture. Captives were placed in the system by decree of the Paramount Chief and his regional governors. The function of marriage was, in this context, to locate children in the system unambiguously and uniquely.

Two systems of relationships set up ties which cut across the lines of the residential system. These were the military regimental system of age-sets and the bilateral kinship system. In this paper we shall be concerned only incidentally with the regimental system, in so far as it directly affected marriage. We are, however, concerned with the kinship system, and in particular with the relationship of husband and wife. By careful choice of wives for himself and his sons a man ensured that his own group of agnates was linked to many other agnatic groups by bonds of affinity and, in the next generation, of matrilateral kinship.

It is from this point of view that we can best approach the analysis of marriage as it was in 'the time of peace'. Marriage arrangements then worked in conjunction with the residential system which is now in decay and it is not surprising that the replacement of the old system by a new one has been accompanied by changes in the kinds of marriage entered into by Ngoni men and women.

2. *Fidelity and fertility*

The old Ngoni residential system had much in common with the Zulu and Swazi systems and there was much in common in the realm of marriage. Marriage involved a permanent transfer of the fertility of the woman to the man's group. The children of a man's wife fell entirely within his own segment of the system, so that political ties became coincident with lineage ties. But while marriage secured for a man legitimate descendents with whom to people his own segment, it also established ties of affection and obligation which cut across the cleavage lines of the residential system. A man and his affines were linked in a specific relationship, entailing definite rights in division in the marriage, validated by the transfer of cattle and made permanent by the birth of children. The rites of marriage affirmed the transfer of the woman's fertility, the agnatic affiliation of her children, and the rights and obligations of affines towards one another. This pattern is common to many peoples organized patrilineally. Nevertheless, some of the characteristics of highly developed agnatic systems, such as ghost marriage, the marriage of wives by a woman, and the marriage of a queen with cattle contributed by the whole nation, were not found among the Ngoni.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

589 of as being divorced from the dead man. If they do not themselves wish to be inherited they cannot be forced to remain.

587 If a widow is cared for by a younger brother of her dead husband, and that man already has a wife of his own, the widow is regarded as inferior in status to the man's own wife. Yet any children she 851 has by him count as if they were children by the dead husband, and • 428 as such they inherit his cattle and offices before the brother's children by his own wife. This apparent paradox is due to the nature of 554 Ngoni seniority. Seniority was always associated with position in a definite segment in the old residential system. The widow belongs to the segment of her dead husband, and even today if she is a queen she ought to stay there after she has been given a pro-husband. If she moves to live in proximity to her pro-husband, she comes into the ranking system of which the pro-huband's great wife is the superior. Her children are, however, still associated with the segment from whence she came.

587 The new husband, whether he is a kinsman of the dead man or not, pays one goat, also known as 'snuff-box', on taking the woman, 583 and this animal she keeps herself, and does not hand on to her father or brother. If no bridewealth was paid by the first husband, the 851 children borne to the second take the descent name of their own father and his rights in the marriage are the same as if he were marrying the woman for the first time and had made the legalization payment.

589 There is then an opportunity for the marriage to continue after the death of the man if his wife and his kinsmen are both agreeable. If the widow wishes to go her own way, she can do so, and if his kinsmen do not wish to care for her, they need not. Even if they do not like the woman they cannot turn her out of the village, and she can go on living in her dead husband's hut and cultivating the same garden as before. She may even re-marry and bring in her new husband to live with her in her dead spouse's village. The extent to which this can be done without quarrelling depends very much on the personalities of the people involved. If the widow decides to go back to her own village, her husband's kin may try to prevent her removing possessions of which the ownership is not certain, and she should discuss with them how much of the crops she can take away from her garden.

587 Nowadays the death of a wife brings the marriage to an end. We have seen that in the old days the dead woman was replaced by a linked co-wife, and that this institution has now all but disappeared. There is no other form of sororate, and although a man may sometimes in jest address his wife's sister as *wife*, he has no rights over her.

593 The specific responsibilities of brothers towards a man's marriage are demonstrated in the role of the elder brother as a marriage negotiator and of the younger brother as potential husbands for a man's widows. A man would not, save in exceptional circumstances,

payment. It may have been that Nimshi was merely trying to get as much as he could hope for out of Simon, who was a fierce and powerful person. In view, however, of the decline in the incidence of bridewealth and the increasing importance of the legalization payment it is not unlikely that this right to the daughter's legalization payment may soon be separated from bridewealth.

It is at the death of a man that his children exercise their particular rights from him as against the claims of other kin. If a man has paid bridewealth for his wife, then the claim of his eldest son by her to his property is clear. The eldest son by the great wife is the heir, and he takes over control of the dead man's herd, and inherits his money. For inheritance, cattle are more important than money. Most men keep their money hidden in the ground, and it sometimes happens that a man dies without mentioning where he has put his savings, so that they are lost. Cattle are publicly-owned property, in that every boy in the village knows the ownership of each beast, and they can be seen in the byre every day. Men sometimes divide their property among their sons before they die, but it is more usual for a man to give one cow to the eldest son of each wife and to leave the rest undivided. The residue then passes to his heir on his death. If bridewealth has not been paid, the claim of the dead man's eldest son to the herd may be disputed by the dead man's brothers. Succession here does not seem to be determined in the light of the failure to pay bridewealth but by a consideration of residence. If a man is living in the same village as his father then he can expect to inherit his father's cattle when he dies. If he is living elsewhere, and tries to claim his inheritance, he may be opposed by his father's kinsmen resident in his father's village should he try to remove the cattle.

The eldest son inherits, but he has an obligation to help his sisters and younger brothers when they need beasts or money. If the other brothers are scattered in different villages, the herd may be divided among them, but it may be many years after the death that the division takes place. If the eldest son is in Southern Rhodesia *the dead man's brothers delay the division of the herd as long as* possible in case the rightful heir should return.

Women acquire cattle and other animals with money they have saved or gained by selling beer, or as gifts from their husbands. If no bridewealth has been paid for a woman any animals she may own pass on her death to her eldest son. If bridewealth has been paid for her the disposal of her property is uncertain. Some people argue that the animals cannot then go to her son, for her son belongs to her husband's group because of the bridewealth, and that they ought to pass to her brother's son. Others say that the animals should go to her eldest son irrespective of bridewealth. Unfortunately I did not record any specific instance of inheritance from a woman.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

had been paid, it was her husband and not her father who initiated proceedings against her and her lover. Residence was equated with political allegience, and therefore it was inappropriate that her children should live in their father's village until he had acquired rights in them, that is until he had acquired rights *in genetricem* in his wife. These rights were transferred with the payment of bridewealth. The holder of the rights both *in uxorem* and *in genetricem* was the husband, but on his death the rights *in uxorem* passed to a junior patrilineal kinsman of the same generation while the rights *in genetricem* remained in the man's own segment. If the woman was barren, it was incumbent on those who had been recompensed for the transfer of rights *in genetricem* to provide another wife whose children occupied the position of children of the barren wife.

Nowadays the legalization payment confers rights *in uxorem* and bridewealth rights *in genetricem*. Rights *in genetricem* are inherited in the same way as before, but rights *in uxorem* do not pass automatically to a younger brother of the husband on his death. If a widow agrees to be inherited, and a younger brother willing to have her, then he acquires rights *in uxorem* over her without any further legalization payment. If, however, either no younger brother is forthcoming or the widow is unwilling, the rights revert to the woman's own group, who cannot themselves exercise them. When she takes a new husband he makes the legalization payment to them, and not to the kin of the dead husband, and thereby acquires his rights *in uxorem*. If rights *in genetricem* have already been transferred to the dead husband, the new husband can never acquire them. If at the beginning of a marriage bridewealth is offered, its acceptance transfers both rights *in uxorem* and *in genetricem*.

Whereas the rights *in genetricem* were definite in the old system, in the new they are vague and of doubtful value. In the old scheme they were related to position in a residential system of which one of the generating principles was patrilineal descent and succession. With the breakdown of this system one can no longer say so clearly that a man belongs to one group of kinsmen rather than another. The lineage segment is no longer a significant group with spatial reference and a hierarchy of authority. Kinsmen, however related, who live near one another tend to help each other, visit one another and support each other in quarrels and in visits to court. Some of the men and women who go to court in support of A will also go in support of B, while others will not. B shares certain supporters with C, and so on. The men and women who are relatives and neighbours cannot be divided into a collection of mutually exclusive groups, for membership of one man's group partly overlaps with membership of another's, and every man has, as it were, a different set of people, some of them patrilateral kin, some matrilateral, and some affines, whom he is prepared to support. There is no widely-held indigenous theory of procreation such as in other cultures provides a rationaliza-

7: Hodgson G-5 (926) 1933 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Maravi FR4

2. *Inheritance.*

When a Chewa woman dies, her personal property is inherited by her mother's eldest brother; but he must always give something to the deceased's eldest brother, and may then present a share, first to her other brothers and sisters, and then to his own brothers and sisters, if there is enough to go round. If the woman is married and leaves children, they may also share, if the inheritance is sufficiently large. A man's land and crops at his wife's village are always inherited by the widow; his personal property falls to his mother's eldest brother or, in default, to his own eldest brother; but the deceased's eldest son must always receive a share. M 428

Among the Angoni, a man's land is inherited by his eldest son, or by his eldest surviving brother, if he has no son. His personal property goes first to his eldest son, or, if he has no son, to his eldest daughter. If he die childless, his father inherits; if the father is dead, the deceased's eldest surviving brother; if he leaves no brothers, then the father's eldest living brother; and if all these are dead their sons are taken in order. On the death of a woman, the husband takes the children; but her father takes all her personal property, including her share of the proceeds of the joint property of her husband and herself. N 428

IV.—Social Organisation: Political and Legal.

1. *Political Organization and Clans (Chewa).*

The tribal life of the Achewa and of the other descendants of the Amaravi has always been a disintegrated one. They have lived normally in small family communities, uniting under a common leader only when obliged by an emergency to do so. After the passing of the emergency, the leader has retained, nevertheless, a certain amount of influence, and has been regarded in some respects and in a small degree as a paramount chief. M 571 621 643

Their tradition as to the origin of their chiefs is that long ago they had no instruments of war, hunting or agriculture. So they were at a disadvantage and an easy prey to their enemies, but at length God showed them how, and they devised a smelting furnace (*ng'anjo*) (*vide infra* IX, 2). By this means men began to acquire wealth and power, whereby they became chiefs; and chiefs, the name given to them so made, is the word now used to signify any kind of wealth. M 773 [325] [556]

The Achewa are divided into various clans, or *chiwanga* (*sing. chiwanga*). The common clan-names were devised in order that people might know their relations. Formerly, restrictions in the matter of diet were imposed upon adult members of a clan; but these restrictions are now generally ignored, and in many cases they have been forgotten. Marriage with a member of the same *chiwanga* was strictly prohibited, but it is now of common occurrence. M 614 [262] [582]

The clan-names are the same as those of the Anyanja and Amang'anja. In some cases they correspond with those of the Wayao, who are a different tribe speaking a different language and, though the distinctions of the clan are falling daily deeper into disregard, an Mchewa will treat an Myao of the same clan as his *mbale*, or brother; and recently, when the Chewa chief, M [171] [648]

The final day of the proceedings, *teiku la kumasa*, is known as *teiku la kumata maliro*. The beer is tested at cockcrow, and *kasiya maliro* begins to dance, followed first by a *chisudzo* and then by *ndondo*. At sunrise the dancers proceed to the *dambwe*, and those who play no further active part may go and bathe, after which they repair to the *liunda*, where they rest and drink till noon. Meanwhile, the relations, accompanied by any other of the men who assisted in digging the grave or were present at the interment, have betaken themselves early to the banks of the stream where they bathed on the former occasion. The women who have worn *zisthambo* burn them in a fire, and scatter the ashes. If they have indulged in sexual intercourse while wearing them, the *zisthambo* refuse to burn. Both sexes bathe separately as before, and all return to the house of the deceased, outside which the men shave each others' heads, as also do the women. About noon one or more *amaliya* come from the *liunde* and dance in the *mzinda*. *Chadzunda* hobbles out, peers round the graveyard, and goes first to the house of the deceased to receive a *supo* from the widow and then to the house of the headman, where he sits on a chair while people come and give him *masupo* and beer. After this refreshment he dances in the *bwalo*, and then retreats to the *liunde* for a rest, returning to dance a second and third time before retiring finally to the *dambwe*. Then *kasiya maliro* dances for the last time, and is taken to the *dambwe* and burnt, and those who have handled him bathe. *Visudzo* again bring broken pots from the graveyard, and dance with them in the bush, singing "*Mbiya zadoda*," and the *amaliya* continue dancing for a while. At sunset the ceremonies are ended by the male relations of the deceased burning first the beer fence and then the house. The widow sleeps in someone else's house for a few weeks, until a new house has been built for her by her relations.

M 765 575 M [515] [302] [535] M [768]

5. *Funeral rites* (*Ngoni*).

The procedure described by Captain Rattray[1] in 1907 is still remembered by the old men; but the younger Angoni are inclined to follow the customs of the Achewa with certain modifications. For example, they place the corpse in a recess cut out from the bottom of the wall of the grave in order that it may not be soiled when the grave is filled in. They do not leave him any food, but place his spear and shield and one or two of his knives in the recess by his side. Part of his remaining property is deposited in the main shaft; but the sons always inherit the knives, except the *chipumbu* (knife for cutting meat), which falls to the head wife.

N 764 [177] N 428

On the second day after the death, the widows send children to cut *mpalapalwa* grass, from which they weave *zisthambo* to bind on their heads. As long as the widows wear these *zisthambo*, they must abstain from sexual intercourse; if they fall from grace, they invariably remove the *zisthambo* first. They must also keep their hands behind their backs when walking ahead, and may only use one hand when gesticulating. They must refrain from conversation and ablution for two or three weeks, at the end of which they brew beer (known as *mow wa zimbidzi*) and invite a few friends to partake of it. Very often a widow's near female relations past the time of childbearing wear *zisthambo* and observe prohibitions in sympathy with her.

N 765 N [273]

[1] Mourning bands of plaited grass (see following section).

[2] "Some Folk Lore Songs and Stories in Chinyanja," pp. 92-99.

11: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese
167 East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight.
173 Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the
578 Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Manukusa; this was the year of
643 Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukusa and Zongendaba midway between
648 the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

In the year 1833, in which Manukusa attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukusa and Zongendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by Mhlabawadabuka, a brother of Manukusa, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba broke with Mhlabawadabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the Ingwe-Kwisi River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo. In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the [805] Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zongendaba and an induna, Ngabi Maseko, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction [645] was made, it is said, by Gwaze Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his [684] Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chulu, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukuma and Msafwa.

159 In 1845 Zongendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a
173 European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put
643 to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to
[766] two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njekwane. He died at Mapupu in the Fipa country
[428] and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyinalusi River. On his death bed he gave his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Scoera), Ntutu Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

159 (1) Loziwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi".
173 She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near
562 St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great

/5 cont'd/

614 Clan names, however, are inherited from the father in most Ngoni
551 families. These names are used as surnames for the purposes of the
576 Administration, and as forms of polite address. On marriage, a man
438 and wife may live in either the village of the man or of the woman,
591 although the custom whereby initially they should live in the village of the woman for a few years is still followed by some.

III

361 In the village there are dwelling huts, storehouses, pens for the small animals, drying platforms, and cattle byres. The huts are often arranged in rather uneven parallel lines, with all the huts facing
351 the same way. The fences found in other parts of the country enclosing a small courtyard round the hut, are not often seen here.
342 Each married woman has her own hut, and possibly a smaller hut as
433 well, used as a kitchen and sleeping place for visitors and children. Unmarried adolescents of one sex sleep together in modest huts they
882 have built for themselves or else in a hut left empty by a former resident. Where bamboos are available, as in the north and east of
342 the area, they are used to form the framework of a circular hut. The
[624] walls are made in two concentric circles, with mud plastered on the inside of the inner circle, but with the outer circle often left unmudded. The walls are made in unbroken circles, doorways being cut out later with an axe. The space between the two circles is used
[353] for storing pots and other household goods and is sometimes used for cooking. The bamboos are woven together, split bamboos going horizontally and unsplit ones vertically, so that light is able to pass through the unplastered wall. Open lattice fencing is also found forming part of the outer wall.

Where bamboos are not available, either circular or rectangular huts of poles and mud are made. Rectangular huts are often subdivided with a partition wall, to make a separate sleeping place, while the verandah may be partly walled in to make a cooking shelter protected from the weather. With both bamboo and pole huts, the